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Assessment of  
NATO and American Forces in West Germany  
(Before the Berlin Crisis)

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The following report about West German attitudes towards NATO and about the American forces stationed in West Germany have been taken from a larger study which was carried out during the period from October 15 through October 26, 1958. Since the interviews took place at that time, they represent the reactions of the West German populace to the questions posed before the latest Berlin crisis came to a head with Krushchev's declaration on November 10, 1958.

Although it is possible that West German attitudes towards NATO may now be altered as a result of the Berlin problem, they at least furnish a bench-mark with which to compare any current changes.

Attitudes towards American forces in West Germany should not be as affected by the events swirling about Berlin. Most certainly the relationship between attitudes towards American servicemen and contact with them would still be valid - and inasmuch as these questions contain most valuable information for the guidance of the U.S. military, particular attention is invited to that part of the report.

As noted above, interviewing took place in the Federal Republic from October 15 through 26, 1958. Due to the length of the study two comparable samples, each representative of the West German adult population 21 years of age and over were collected, on what is known as a split sample basis. The one sample consisted of 610 cases, and the other of 585. In the report, wherever the same question was asked in both questionnaires, the data reflect the total replies obtained from the two samples. Should a question have been asked only of one of the samples, then naturally the numerical base will reveal that fact.

Interviewing was done by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, Frankfurt am Main/Bad Godesberg, a German survey organization.



## SUMMARY

The level of awareness of NATO among the West German population appears to be a constant - eight out of ten say they have heard of it. Among those claiming awareness, one-half say that it is only a military organization, while one quarter say that it has non-military activities.

With six-tenths saying that they have some confidence in NATO's ability to defend Western Europe, there is a slight rise in the past six months. However, it is still somewhat under that found in 1957.

In contrast with the foregoing slight rise in confidence in NATO, there was a significant decrease in the percentage seeing the United States as militarily stronger than the Soviet Union. Equal quarters of the population select the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Six out of seven in West Germany have not even spoken to an American serviceman in the past several years. The greatest amount of personal contact was found among men (rather than women), those under 30 years of age, the better educated, higher socio-economic groups, and among residents of Bavaria and the Rhineland/Palatinate - where most of the American troops actually are.

Assessment of American troops behavior is somewhat better than was reported in July 1956, the last time a survey was made on the subject (but which was the period of maximum publicity over the "incidents" of that period). However, the present level is not quite as good as that which was found in December 1955. Men (those with the most actual contact with the G.I.'s) have the highest opinion of troop behavior. In fact, favorable opinion of soldier behavior is more than three times as likely among those having contact as among those who have never even spoken to a G.I.

A majority in the Federal Republic approves of the presence of U.S. forces in the country, with the least approval coming from the women, youth, farmers, SPD adherents, those in the lowest socio-economic levels, and among residents of Lower Saxony<sup>^</sup> (where peculiarly enough there are almost none to be found). The value of personal contact was noted again since the greatest approval was found among those with some actual contact with U.S. servicemen.





Part I - Knowledge of NATO

KNOWLEDGE OF NATO REMAINS AT EIGHT OUT OF TEN ...

The level of knowledge of the existence of NATO in the West German population still remains the same as it has been for the past several years - eight out of ten (81%) have heard or read about it. This is almost identical with the percentages found in 1956, and in 1957.

"Have you heard or read of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO, that is?"

	Nov 56 (1159)	May 57 (1200)	Nov 57 (813)	Mar 58 (913)	Oct 58 (1195)
Yes, have heard	76%	82%	82%	82%	81%
No, have not heard	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%

BARELY HALF OF THOSE "KNOWING" OF NATO SAY IT IS PURELY MILITARY ...

Further questions about the nature of NATO were asked of those persons who had said that they knew about it.\*\* In one of these additional queries respondents having heard or read about NATO were asked if NATO performs only military functions, or whether it also carries on non-military activities.

Less than half (47%) of those claiming to know about NATO answered that there were only military activities. The remaining persons were fairly evenly split between those who thought that NATO also carried out some non-military activities (25%), and those who admitted that they did not know (28%).

"As far as you know, does NATO perform only military functions or does it carry on non-military activities as well?" (Asked only of those aware of NATO.)

	Oct 58 (483)
Performs only military functions	47%
Non-military activities as well	25
Don't know	<u>28</u> 100%

\*\* Asked in one of two equal samples.

A second question asked all those who said that they had heard of NATO to give their evaluation of the importance of non-military activities on the part of NATO.

While examination of the overall replies might incline one to see a tendency to accord some importance to non-military activities (inasmuch as 45% called them at least fairly important as against 26% calling them not important), it is necessary to break the replies down according to whether the person had originally answered that there were non-military activities carried out by NATO. When that is done, it can be observed that those people who thought that NATO had non-military activities laid considerable stress upon the importance of such activities (83% called them important), whereas those who said that NATO only consisted of military functions were evenly divided as to whether non-military activities were or were not important (42% vs 41%).

"As far as you know, does NATO perform only military functions or does it carry on non-military activities as well?"

	Non- military (123)	Only military (224)	Don't know (136)	TOTAL (483)
"How important do you consider it to be for NATO to carry on non-military activities - very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all?"				
Very important	49%	18%	9%	23%
Fairly important	34	24	10	22
Not very important	10	20	7	14
Not important at all	2	21	3	12
Don't know	5	17	71	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Part II - Confidence in NATO and U.S.

SLIGHT RISE IN CONFIDENCE IN NATO, INSUFFICIENT TO REACH 1957 LEVEL ...

As has been done in the past, those individuals who said that they had heard of NATO were asked to say how much confidence they had in its ability to defend Western Europe. The level of confidence found now among those answering the question is but slightly higher than was the case among a similar group asked this query during the Spring of the year. Almost six out of ten (59%), as against half (52%) of the earlier group, said that they had confidence in NATO's ability to defend Western Europe. Interestingly enough, there is absolutely no change in the answers on the negative side of the scale. In March and in October there were over one-quarter (28% in each survey) who answered that they had little or no confidence in NATO as a defensive force.

While there is this slight (but statistically significant) change over the past six months, the gain is not sufficient to reach either of the levels recorded during 1957. At that time - in May and in November - around two out of three individuals aware of NATO said that they had confidence in it (63% and 68%).

Yet another way of remarking that the rise still left the level of confidence under the 1957 mark is to read the NET SCORE figures. These index figures were constructed by subtracting the percentage of those who have little or no confidence from those who do have confidence in NATO's ability to defend Western Europe. The most recent NET SCORE of +31, while better than the +24 recorded in March 1958 is still short of the +49 of November 1957 or even the +36 of May 1957.

"In light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe -- a great deal, some, not very much, none at all?"

	May 57 (982)	Nov 57 (667)	Mar 58 (753)	Oct 58** (485)
Great deal	28% } 63%	28% } 68%	23% } 52%	26% } 59%
Some	35	40	29	33
Not very much	20 } 27	15 } 19	21 } 28	21 } 28
None at all	7	4	7	7
Don't know	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$	$\frac{20}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$
<u>NET SCORE</u>	+36	+49	+24	+31

\*\* This question asked of the second sample - not the one reported in Part I.

# LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE NOW FAIRLY UNIFORM THROUGHOUT GERMAN POPULATION ...

In order to show which groups in the West German population have the highest (or lowest) level of confidence in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense force, the following table has been prepared. It not only gives the percentages of each population sub-group having confidence or indicating lack of it, but it presents the NET OPINION SCORE on this question, and compares this NET OPINION SCORE with that obtained during March 1958.

The column of NET OPINION SCORES for October 1958 reveals a remarkable consistency of opinion concerning the effectiveness of NATO - a uniformity which was not the case in March 1958. Now the variations above and below the national average of +31 are very small (with exceptions of Schleswig/Holstein, Baden/Wuerttemberg, and Rhineland/Palatinate).

"In light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe -- a great deal, some, not very much, none at all?"

<u>Population Groups</u>	<u>Great deal/ Some</u>	<u>Not very much/ None at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>NET OPINION</u>		<u>No. of cases Oct 58</u>
				<u>October</u>	<u>March</u>	
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	64%	29%	7%	+35	+26	235
Women	55	27	18	+28	+25	250
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	58	28	14	+30	+21	386
Secondary school w/o diploma	62	28	10	+34	+42	72
Diploma/university	67	33	-	+34	+58	27
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper middle and well-to-do	67	26	5	+41	+30	86
Lower middle	58	28	14	+30	+26	304
Poor	56	28	16	+28	+24	95
<u>Age:</u>						
Under 44 years	60	28	12	+32	+29	235
45 years and over	58	28	14	+30	+22	250
<u>Occupation (Respondent):@</u>						
Professionals	63	37	-	+26	+50	19
Businessmen	64	27	9	+37	- 1	55
White-collar workers	64	26	10	+38	+39	126
Manual workers	56	32	12	+24	+22	169
Farmers; farmhands	54	26	20	+28	+31	46
Others	56	24	20	+32	+32	100

@ Housewives have been classified according to the chief breadwinner's occupation.

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Population Groups	Great deal/ Some	Not very much/ None at all	Don't know	NET OPINION		No. of cases Oct 58
				October	March	
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	56%	34%	10%	+22	+ 6	127
CDU/CSU	67	22	11	+45	+45	165
FDP	55	45	-	+10	+19	11
Other parties	44	39	17	+ 5	+38	23
No party	58	30	12	+28	+12	90
No opinion	54	24	22	+30	+19	69
<u>Land:</u>						
Schleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	50	46	4	+ 4	+30	54
Lower Saxony	61	19	20	+42	+40	61
North Rhine/Westphalia	59	28	13	+31	+23	143
Hesse	71	22	7	+49	+23	41
Rhineland/Palatinate	47	31	22	+16	+42	32
Baden/Wuerttemberg	51	33	16	+18	+19	67
Bavaria	70	21	9	+49	+15	87



## LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN U.S. MILITARY MIGHT ...

There has been a considerable decrease, over the past year, in the percentage of the West German population which sees the United States as militarily stronger than the Soviet Union.

This decrease in the group calling the U.S. stronger has not been accompanied by any increase among those believing that the Soviets are militarily stronger than the U.S. Whereas in November 1957 just under a quarter of the West Germans (23%) saw the Russians as a little or considerably ahead of the United States in total military strength, a year later (October 1958) saw absolutely no change in the proportion selecting the Soviets as the stronger (24%).

The change which has occurred is in the percentage naming the U.S. as militarily stronger than the Soviets. This figure has gone down over the year from almost four out of ten (38%) to less than a quarter (23%), so that now there are fully as many seeing the Soviets as stronger than the U.S. as there are those believing in the military strength of the United States.

"All things considered, which country, do you think, is ahead in total military strength at the present time -- the U.S. or Russia? Considerably ahead, or only a little?"

	Oct 58 (1739)	Nov 57 (813)
Russia - considerably	9% } 24%	6% } 23%
- little	15	17
U.S. - little	16 } 23	22 } 38
- considerably	7	16
Both equal	22	20
Don't know	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%

Apparently the shift over the past year indicates, not a growing belief in the military might of the Soviet Union (since there is no increase in this percentage), but a growing uncertainty over how strong the United States is. The interpretation is based upon the decrease in the percentage selecting the U.S. as the stronger and the increase in the percentage answering "don't know" to the question (up to 31% from 19%).

VERY FEW POPULATION GROUPS STILL SEE U.S. AS MILITARILY STRONGER ...

The considerable overall shift in West German opinion of American military might as against that of the Russians extends throughout almost every level of the populace. In only a few noteworthy cases are there really more people believing U.S. military strength is greater than that of the Russians. This is true among men, professional and business people, CDU and FDP adherents, and strangely also among residents of Hesse. (Based on NET OPINION SCORES in the table below.)

In this connection, however, it must also be pointed out that although in these groups just enumerated there are larger percentages naming the U.S., in every case but one (which is calculated upon a small numerical base) the present percentage and the NET OPINION SCORE is far below that recorded a year ago (November 1957).

"All things considered, which country, do you think, is ahead in total military strength at the present time -- the U.S. or Russia? Considerably ahead, or only a little?"

	U.S. ahead - a little/ considerably	Russia ahead - a little/ considerably	Both equal/ Don't know	NET OPINION	
				Oct 58	Change from Nov 57
<u>All West Germans</u>	23%	24%	53%	- 1	-16
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28	24	48	+ 4	-16
Women	19	24	57	- 5	-19
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	21	23	56	- 2	-16
Secondary school w/o diploma	31	29	40	+ 2	-24
Diploma/university	26	33	41	- 7	-32
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	27	27	46	-	-20
Lower middle	23	26	51	- 3	-17
Poor	22	22	56	-	-21
<u>Age:</u>					
21 to 29 years	24	28	48	- 4	-19
30 to 44 years	26	25	49	+ 1	-18
45 years and over	20	23	57	- 3	-18
<u>Occupation:@</u>					
Professionals	40	19	41	+21	- 2
Businessmen	26	21	53	+ 5	+ 8
White-collar workers	25	27	48	- 2	-24
Manual workers	23	25	52	- 2	-18
Farmers; farmhands	23	16	61	+ 7	-11
Others	16	25	59	- 9	-22

@ Housewives have been classified according to the chief breadwinner's occupation.

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	U.S. ahead - a little/ <u>considerably</u>	Russia ahead - a little/ <u>considerably</u>	Both equal/ Don't know	<u>OPINION SCORE</u>	
				Change from Oct 58	Nov 57
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	21%	36%	43%	-15	-29
CDU/CSU	31	24	45	+ 7	-13
FDP	40	34	26	+ 6	-14
Other parties	21	33	56	-12	+ 5
No party	17	25	58	- 8	-37
No opinion/No answer	15	12	73	+ 3	- 4
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,					
Bremen	17	39	44	-22	-22
Lower Saxony	23	27	50	- 4	-21
North Rhine/Westphalia	22	23	55	- 1	- 9
Hesse	26	14	60	+12	-21
Rhineland/Palatinate	23	16	61	+ 7	- 8
Baden/Wuerttemberg	26	29	45	- 3	-26
Bayaria	23	23	54	-	-21



### Part III - Appraisal of U.S. Forces

#### Section A - Extent of Personal Contact

ONLY ONE OUT OF SEVEN HAS EVEN TALKED WITH A G.I. IN THE PAST 3 YEARS,  
WHILE THREE OUT OF SEVEN HAVE NOT EVEN SEEN ONE ...

Despite the presence of hundreds of thousands of American servicemen in the Federal Republic, three-sevenths (43%) of the population say that they have not seen an American serviceman in the past two to three years. Another three-sevenths (42%) say that they have seen some U.S. soldiers, but admit that they have never spoken to any of them.

There remains, therefore, a maximum of one person out of seven (14%) who has at least spoken to an American serviceman in the past several years. That this contact is superficial is borne out by the report that only a minority of this groups (4% of the total sample) claims to actually know some serviceman fairly well - the remainder (10% of all respondents) have "talked with servicemen during the past 2 or 3 years".

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact  
you personally have had with American servicemen during  
the past 2 or 3 years. (CARD)

Oct 58  
(1195)

I have not seen American servicemen during the past 2 or 3 years, but I did earlier	25%
I have seen American servicemen during the past 2 or 3 years, but haven't talked with them	42
I have talked with American servicemen during the past 2 or 3 years	10
I actually know some American servicemen fairly well	4
I have never seen an American serviceman	18
Don't know	1
	<hr/> 100%

- MEN  
- THOSE UNDER 30 YEARS  
- HIGHLY EDUCATED, UPPER SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS  
- RESIDENTS OF BAVARIA, RHINELAND/PALATINATE

MOST CONTACT WITH G.I.s FOUND AMONG

Interestingly enough, the greatest amount of contact with American servicemen is found among men rather than women (19% versus 10%), among the better educated rather than among the lesser educated (33% of those with high school or university education, as compared with 11% of those with no more than elementary education), and among the highest socio-economic level individuals (20%) rather than those persons judged as middle (14%) or lower socio-economic status (9%).

From the following group tabulation, it can also be seen that contact with American servicemen is found to be highest among the younger people - those under 30 years of age, among professional people, business, and white-collar collar workers, and among residents of Rhineland/Palatinate, and Bavaria (were the largest contingents of American troops are to be found).

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact you personally have had with American servicemen during the past two or three years." (CARD)

	Not seen during past 2-3 years	Seen but not talked with	Talked with	Know some fairly well	Never seen	No answer	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	25%	42%	10%	4%	18%	1%...100%	1195
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	24	44	13	6	13	*	532
Women	25	41	8	2	23	1	663
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	26	43	8	3	19	1	987
Secondary school w/o diploma	22	36	17	7	17	1	153
Diploma/university	13	47	22	11	7	-	55
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>							
Upper middle and well-to-do	18	47	17	3	15	-	187
Lower middle	24	44	10	4	18	*	769
Poor	32	36	6	3	21	2	239
<u>Occupation (Respondent):@</u>							
Professionals	13	38	27	11	11	-	37
Businessmen	23	45	16	4	12	-	75
White-collar workers	20	43	15	6	15	1	290
Independent artisans	24	58	9	2	7	-	45
Manual workers	28	40	8	4	20	*	466
Farmers; farmhands	22	46	4	1	26	1	126
Others	29	43	5	1	21	1	156
<u>Age:</u>							
21 to 29 years	21	33	20	4	22	-	204
30 to 44 years	25	48	8	4	14	1	369
45 to 64 years	26	43	8	4	18	1	501
65 years and over	24	42	4	2	26	2	121

@ Housewives have been classified according to the chief breadwinner's occupation.

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	Not seen during past 2-3 years	Seen but not talked with	Talked with	Know some fairly well	Never seen	No answer	No. of cases
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	29%	43%	7%	3%	17%	1%...100%	307
CDU/CSU	28	42	9	3	18	*	435
FDP	24	37	18	5	16	-	38
Other parties	24	38	16	8	14	-	37
No party	19	48	10	6	16	1	214
No opinion/No answer	14	40	13	3	27	3	164
<u>Land:</u>							
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,							
Bremen	25	34	5	3	33	-	117
Lower Saxony	48	23	1	*	28	-	163
North Rhine/Westphalia	35	26	8	4	26	1	342
Hesse	14	64	11	5	3	3	101
Rhineland/Palatinate	8	54	20	14	3	1	79
Baden/Wuerttemberg	14	49	12	2	22	1	168
Bavaria	10	68	16	4	2	-	225

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

GERMAN MEN, REGARDLESS OF AGE, HAVE MORE CONTACT WITH G.I.S THAN IS FOUND AMONG GERMAN WOMEN ...

Substantiation of the previous finding, that German men have more contacts with American servicemen than German women have, is found in the following special tabulation. It shows the extent of contact with servicemen according to the sex and age of the respondent.

Germans under 30 years of age have almost twice as much contact with servicemen as any other age group; and the men have about twice as much contact as have the women. For example, among German men, who are under 30 years, twice as many have contacts (33%) as was reported by German men in any of the other age groups (17% among those 30-44 years, 15% among those 45-64 years, and 11% among those over 65). Among German women, the trend is about the same - of women under 30, 15 per cent have either spoken to or know a G.I., while among other age groups the percentage ranges from a maximum of 10 per cent to but 1 per cent.

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact you personally have had with American servicemen during the past two or three years." (CARD)

	<u>Men</u>				<u>Women</u>			
	<u>21-29</u> <u>years</u> <u>(97)</u>	<u>30-44</u> <u>years</u> <u>(167)</u>	<u>45-64</u> <u>years</u> <u>(211)</u>	<u>65 years</u> <u>and over</u> <u>(54)</u>	<u>21-29</u> <u>years</u> <u>(107)</u>	<u>30-44</u> <u>years</u> <u>(202)</u>	<u>45-64</u> <u>years</u> <u>(286)</u>	<u>65 years</u> <u>and over</u> <u>(67)</u>
No contact	67%	83%	85%	89%	85%	90%	89%	98%
Talked with	28	11	9	7	12	6	8	1
Know some fairly								
well	5	6	6	4	3	3	2	-
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IT IS THE MEN IN RHINELAND/PALATINATE, AND IN BAVARIA WHO CONTRIBUTE MOST TO HIGH CONTACT LEVEL ...

The earlier table of group-breaks revealed that the highest level of contact with American servicemen was reported from the Rhineland/Palatinate and Bavarian regions - where most of the American servicemen are in truth stationed. But it must be emphasized that it is the men, rather than the women of these regions who have the most personal knowledge of American servicemen.

Among the men in Rhineland/Palatinate close to one-half (46%) reported that they had either spoken to or personally knew a G.I., while such contact was only reported by one-quarter of the women (25%). A similar, if not quite as extreme, picture is found for Bavaria. There 24 per cent of the men, but 17 per cent of the women, indicated that they had contact with a serviceman.

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact you personally have had with American servicemen during the past two or three years." (CARD)

	<u>Men</u>						
	Schleswig/ Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	Lower Saxony	North Rhine/ Westphalia	Hesse	Rhineland/ Palatinate	Baden/ Wuerttem- berg	Bavaria
	(48)	(70)	(162)	(48)	(35)	(64)	(105)
No contact	82%	97%	79%	86%	54%	81%	76%
Talked with	2	3	13	12	29	14	18
Know some fairly well	6	-	7	2	17	5	6
Don't know	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	<u>Women</u>						
	Schleswig/ Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	Lower Saxony	North Rhine/ Westphalia	Hesse	Rhineland/ Palatinate	Baden/ Wuerttem- berg	Bavaria
	(69)	(93)	(180)	(53)	(44)	(104)	(120)
No contact	92%	99%	95%	77%	73%	87%	83%
Talked with	7	-	3	9	14	11	15
Know some fairly well	1	1	1	8	11	1	2
Don't know	-	-	1	6	2	1	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



Section B - Opinion of Troop Behavior

SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT IN TROOP BEHAVIOR FOUND - WHILE BETTER THAN IN 1956  
NOT AS GOOD AS IN 1955 ...

West German assessment of troop behavior is found to be favorable in that over a third (35%) call the behavior of the American serviceman "good" or "very good", while less than one out of ten (9%) say that his behavior is "bad" or "very bad".

These figures reflect a gain over the findings of a 1956 survey (which occurred at the height of a newspaper campaign against the "incidents" committed by the G.I.s). At that time (July 1956) NET OPINION on the subject showed a +19 - based on 32 per cent with a good opinion and 13 per cent with a bad one. The present survey reveals a NET OPINION SCORE of +26.

While this reflects an improved situation, there is considerable room for improvement; especially as it must be noted that in December 1955, before the "incidents" occurred this same query return a NET OPINION SCORE of +35.

"Please use this card to tell me your opinion of the  
behavior of American servicemen in West Germany at present."(CARD)

	Dec 55** (1525)	Jul 56** (1646)	Oct 58 (610)
Very good opinion	39%	32%	4% } 35%
Good opinion			31 }
Neither good nor bad opinion	25	34	33
Bad opinion	4	13	8 } 9
Very bad opinion			1 }
Don't know	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%
NET OPINION SCORE	+35	+19	+26

\*\* Answer categories in 1955 and in 1956 provided for "good", "fair" or "bad" opinion only.

GERMAN MEN (WHO HAVE THE MOST CONTACT WITH G.I.S) HAVE THE HIGHEST OPINION OF TROOP BEHAVIOR ...

The previous section revealed that it is the German men, regardless of age, who have more contact with American servicemen than German women do. In the following table, the reader is able to note that when it comes to the question of the behavior of the American G.I., it is again the German men, not the women, who have the higher regard for the serviceman's behavior. German men, under 45 years of age, have the best opinion - twice as good as that of women of the same age groups (Note NET OPINION SCORES of +37 and +40 for German men in the ages up to 29, and from 30 to 44; as contrasted with scores of +17 and +21 among women of the same ages).+

"Please use this card to tell me your opinion of the behavior of American servicemen in West Germany at present."  
(CARD)

	<u>Men</u>				<u>Women</u>			
	<u>21-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65 years</u>	<u>21-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65 years</u>
	<u>years</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>and over</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>and over</u>
	<u>(43)</u>	<u>(71)</u>	<u>(109)</u>	<u>(35)</u>	<u>(53)</u>	<u>(107)</u>	<u>(150)</u>	<u>(38)</u>
Very good/Good opinion	42%	48%	39%	37%	32%	33%	31%	24%
Neither good nor bad opinion	32	36	31	37	32	31	33	29
Bad/Very bad opinion	5	8	10	3	15	12	11	3
Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>44</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NET OPINION SCORE	+37	+40	+29	+34	+17	+21	+20	+21

+ Four respondents would not give their ages.

FAVORABLE OPINION OF TROOP BEHAVIOR MORE THAN 3 TIMES AS LIKELY AMONG THOSE HAVING CONTACT WITH SERVICEMEN ...

The value to the U.S. military of the existing personal contact between Germans and servicemen is dramatically shown in the fact that among those Germans who have some actual contact, three-quarters (74%) have a favorable opinion of the behavior of the G.I.s, while among those who do not have any real contact only three out of ten (30%) make the same reply.

Actually, the level of opinion concerning American servicemen's behavior is more than three times as high among those people who have some contact as among those who do not. Comparison of NET OPINION SCORES (wherein the negative opinion is subtracted from the favorable replies) reveals a +20 for those without contact as against a +70 for those who do.

A further breakdown of opinion on troop behavior by contact, as well as by sex and/or age or place of residence would show substantiation of the results just cited - but with the statistical drawback in that there would be so few cases in each of the sub-groups as to render the figures statistically unreliable. There can be little doubt, however, that were sufficient numbers of cases collected, it would be found that the best opinion of American troop behavior would be among the German men, the younger people, the better educated, etc. The very groups that have the most actual contact with them.

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact you personally have had with American servicemen during the past two or three years." +

	No contact (520)	Have contact (82)
"Please use this card to tell me your opinion of the behavior of American servicemen in West Germany at present." (CARD)		
Very good opinion	3% } 30%	11% } 74%
Good opinion	27	63
Neither good nor bad opinion	35	21
Bad opinion	9 } 10	4 } 4
Very bad opinion	1	-
Don't know	25 100%	1 100%
NET OPINION SCORE	+20	+70

+ Eight people did not answer this question.



# MORE THAN FOUR OUT OF TEN SAY TROOP BEHAVIOR HAS IMPROVED ...

As a built-in trend question which can be used to check on the tendency, noted above, for West German respondents to say that American troop behavior is better today than other samples reported some time ago, all respondents were asked whether the behavior of American servicemen had improved or worsened over the past years. More than four out of ten (43%) said that there had been an improvement, while hardly anyone (2%) said that their behavior had become worse.

"Do you have the impression that the behavior of American servicemen in West Germany has improved or worsened over the past year?"

	<u>Oct 58</u> (610)
Improved	43%
Worsened	2
Remained same (Volunteered)	21
Don't know	<u>34</u>
	100%

## IMPROVED BEHAVIOR SEEN MORE BY THOSE WITH ACTUAL TROOP CONTACTS ...

A cross-tabulation of the above question by contact (or lack of it) with American servicemen reveals that it is among those who have personal knowledge based upon actual contact that the most favorable judgments are obtained.

More than seven out of ten (71%) of those with contact as contrasted with a bare four out of ten (39%) of those relying on impressions gained from other than personal knowledge say that American servicemen's behavior has improved.

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact you personally have had with American servicemen during the past two or three years." +

	<u>No contact</u> (520)	<u>Have contact</u> (82)
"Do you have the impression that the behavior of American servicemen in West Germany has improved or worsened over the past year?"		
Improved	39%	71%
Worsened	2	1
Remained same (Volunteered)	22	19
Don't know	<u>37</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%
NET OPINION SCORE	+37	+70

+ Eight people did not answer this question.

Section C - Presence of American Forces in West Germany

MAJORITY APPROVES PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN WEST GERMANY ...

A clear majority of the total West German population approves of the presence of American forces in West Germany - one-quarter approved "very much" and another quarter approved "somewhat" of their being in the country.

Slightly over a quarter (28%) disapproved to any extent, while the remainder (20%) had "no opinion" on the subject of U.S. troops in the Federal Republic.

"All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of having American forces stationed in West Germany? Very much or just somewhat?"

	Oct 58 (1195)
Approve very much	26%
Approve somewhat	26
Disapprove somewhat	15
Disapprove very much	13
Don't know	20
	<u>100%</u>

LESS THAN MAJORITY APPROVAL FOUND AMONG

- WOMEN
- PEOPLE UNDER 30 YEARS
- FARMERS
- SPD ADHERENTS
- LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS
- RESIDENTS OF LOWER SAXONY, HESSE

Since a majority of the West German populace approved the presence of American forces in the country, in examining the proportions of the various sub-groups of the population which approved of the idea, it became significant to point out those groups in which less than a majority gave their approval.

In almost all of those instances where less than half of the group approved of the stationing of American military forces in the Federal Republic, the NET OPINION SCORE for that Group (obtained by subtracting the percentage disapproving from that lending approval) is also lower than that found for the sample as a whole.

Women (47%), respondents under 30 years of age (45%), farmers (43%), SPD adherents (47%), people in the lowest socio-economic levels (48%), and residents of Lower Saxony (45%) and of Hesse (49%) were the exceptions to the finding of majority approval of U.S. forces being stationed in the country. The NET OPINION SCORE of Hessian residents, however, is not lower than that for the sample as a whole (i.e. +25 versus +24).

"All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of having American forces stationed in West Germany? Very much or just somewhat?"

	Approve very much/ somewhat	Disapprove somewhat/ very much	Don't know	NET OPINION SCORE	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	52%	28%	20%	+24	1195
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	59	26	15	+33	532
Women	47	28	25	+19	663
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	51	27	22	+24	987
Secondary school w/o diploma	58	30	12	+28	153
Diploma/university	60	29	11	+31	55
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	57	27	16	+30	187
Lower middle	52	26	22	+26	769
Poor	48	32	20	+16	239
<u>Age:</u>					
21 to 29 years	45	29	26	+16	204
30 to 44 years	53	30	17	+23	369
45 to 64 years	55	25	20	+30	501
65 years and over	50	27	23	+23	121

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	<u>Approve very much/ somewhat</u>	<u>Disapprove somewhat/ very much</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>NET OPINION SCORE</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Occupation (Respondent):@</u>					
Professionals	62%	24%	14%	+38	37
Businessmen	55	30	15	+25	75
White-collar workers	57	27	16	+30	290
Independent artisans	51	22	27	+29	45
Manual workers	50	29	21	+21	466
Farmers; farmhands	43	25	32	+18	126
Others	52	28	20	+24	156
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	47	37	16	+10	307
CDU/CSU	65	19	16	+46	435
FDP	58	34	8	+24	38
Other parties	49	27	24	+22	37
No party	43	31	26	+12	214
No opinion/No answer	40	24	36	+16	164
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	51	34	15	+17	117
Lower Saxony	45	27	28	+18	163
North Rhine/Westphalia	51	31	18	+20	342
Hesse	49	24	27	+25	101
Rhineland/Palatinate	60	21	19	+39	79
Baden/Wuerttemberg	54	28	18	+26	168
Bavaria	58	22	20	+36	225

@ Housewives have been classified according to the chief breadwinner's occupation.

# GREATER APPROVAL OF PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS AMONG THOSE WITH ACTUAL CONTACT ...

The further value of actual contact between the German population and the American servicemen in West Germany is again seen in the more favorable attitude among those with such contact on the subject of stationing U.S. forces in the country.

Despite the fact that there is an overall majority approval of their presence in West Germany, among that small minority with actual contact there is an even greater percentage found who favor the stationing of U.S. military forces in their country. More than six out of ten (63%) are found approving, whereas among those without personal contact a shade under half (49%) are so favorably inclined.

"Please use this card to tell me the extent of contact you personally have had with American servicemen during the past two or three years." +

	<u>No contact</u> (520)	<u>Have contact</u> (82)
"All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of having American forces stationed in West Germany? Very much or just somewhat?"		
Approve		
very much/somewhat	49%	63%
Disapprove		
somewhat/very much	31	28
Don't know	20	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
NET OPINION SCORE	+18	+35

+ Eight people did not answer this question.



"NEUTRALISTS" TEND TO OPPOSE STATIONING OF U.S. FORCES IN WEST GERMANY ...

The value of the question which asks respondents to state whether they wish West Germany to be on the side of the East, the West, or on neither side as a measure of "neutralism" within the country is borne out by its cross-tabulation with replies concerning the stationing of U.S. forces in the country.

As the following table reveals, it is among those people who do not wish the Federal Republic to be associated with either side that the most opposition is found against the presence of American servicemen (41%). The percentage in opposition is even higher than the percentage in favor of their presence (34%). Those who answer "no opinion" on the question are shown to be also divided on the issue of the presence of American forces (22% in favor and 25% opposed), although the majority are also without opinion on the second question as well.

As might be expected, a sizeable majority (61%) of those who would align West Germany with the West, approve of the presence of U.S. forces.

"At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

West	East	Neither	Don't know
(327)	(6)	(177)	(40)

"All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of having American forces stationed in West Germany?"

Approve very much	35%	13%	7%
Approve somewhat	26	21	15
Disapprove somewhat	13	20	15
Disapprove very much	11	24	10
Don't know	15	22	53
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
NET OPINION SCORE	+37	-10	- 3



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